the main axis [51] of the village. This door is always placed rather high and closes on an inner slide. Since nse-nse and ndele are lacking in this region, the framework of the huts is made of stakes and pieces of raffia, and the walls and roof are covered with raffia leaves plaited flat in the form of a mat.

The huts are built singly, a method which again reminds one of the customs of the Oshwe-Bumbuli region. The native does sometimes cover his hut with grass, but this is very rare.

In this region we also observed that in certain villages the huts were arranged in family groupings and that each group had a special area clearly set apart from the rest of the village. The various huts of a single group are inside a fairly solid stake fence from one and three-quarters to two meters high and sometimes covered with mats of raffia leaves. The doors of all the huts within an enclosure open toward the interior of the courtyard.

Fig. 35. Interior of a Lupango and Drying Peanuts, Bena Dibele-Kole Region.

The whole forms the lupango. By counting the number of huts in a lupango one may determine how many wives the chief or head of the place has, since each one has her own home. [52] The lupango are of recent introduction and are derived from Arab influence. One cannot take them into account in establishing relationships of kinship or ethnic affinity between the different peoples. There is no connection whatever between the lupango of the Bena Dibele-Kole region and the familial grouping of huts

592 among the Banfumu. [Ed., the remainder of the chapter, through page 54, is not translated.]

[55] Chapter 3

The Native's Means of Subsistence

Animal husbandry: chickens, goats, dogs. -- Agriculture: manioc, maize, rice, bananas, peanuts. -- Hunting: weapons, snares, nkisi, individual method, communal hunting. -- Fishing: general method, dams, basket weirs, traps, harpoons, bows and arrows, cord nets, screens.

231 The peoples of the Congo-Kasai-Lake Leopold II region and of the Lukenie do very little animal husbandry. They possess no large animals. At most one may find a few chickens, rare goats, and some hunting dogs in their villages. The dogs get a share of the game and live as best they can the rest of the time.

No care whatever is given to the goats. They wander freely during the day and graze in the forest or plain. Sometimes they venture into the planted fields, from which the hunting dogs chase them at first sight. At night they return to the village and take shelter where they will. During our stay in the village of Toipolo, [485] they even came and disturbed us at night while we were lodged in the hut reserved for strangers.

235 The chickens wander around the village and planted areas during the day and sleep [56] at night in the native's hut, where they have their nest for laying eggs and a place to hatch them.

262 439 435 The native does not eat the eggs. He sells them to agents of the state or of commercial concerns, who collect them for hatching. The chicken itself is rarely eaten by the native. Most often it goes to the kitchens of the Europeans. In 1913-14 the average price of a chicken was half a franc, that of an egg, five centimes, and the price of a goat was from five to 15 francs.

595 x The bomátsa takes her task to heart, for her husband's glory is her own as well. The bomátsa is conscious of her role in spite of the presence of a favorite, for it is less that of a wife in the sexual sense of the word than of a wife who is mother of the family. It is of a higher order than the roles of the other wives; it is more serious, more unselfish, and based on a deeper love and a more deliberate will. According to the native point of view, it is rightly the source of a legitimate pride; it is an honor, while the position of the favorite is closer to an object of vanity. Therefore the bomátsa likes to show her importance.

It may seem strange to us that the bomátsa puts her heart into working to increase the number of women in the harem. But this is altogether natural for the Nkundó. The growth of the harem is a source of glory, and she has been brought up to this attitude since her youth. After the first ardor, her affection becomes more serious. She becomes a perfect matron in the Roman manner. Although she continues her relations with her husband and takes care of her children, she is chiefly occupied with her duties as mistress of the whole family. Her husband loves her with a deeper and more reasoned emotion than he shows toward his other wives. Without cease he shows his consideration and attachment for her. If she is sterile it is very likely that he will give her a child belonging to his family or born of a wife who has left him, so that she can bring it up as if it were her own. [343]

595x 582 The bomátsa's house is located at the right end of the row of wive's huts. She deserves this location because of her function as bomóngó loánjá, "owner, mistress of the polygamist's compound. The Nkundó say: ábéla loánjá, "she stretches, or extends, her husband's group of dwellings in order to enlarge it."

595x A polygamous husband undertakes nothing of importance without first consulting the bomátsa (be it the creation of a bolúmbú or a nkóndó, or the acquisition of new wives, etc.). He respects her and treats her with deference, as if she were his mother, our people say.

[789] The bomátsa is the only one of all the polygamist's wives who plays a part in the acceptance of the Nkumdó offensive and defensive

595x magic known as yoli. She alone participates in the ceremonies
789 that accompany it; with her husband she eats half of the hen that has been killed for that purpose, and on that night she alone may share his bed. Finally, only with her, to the exclusion of the co-wives, may the husband eat the fish called wengɛ́, and only she may and must burn the leavings. Otherwise the magical practice would turn against its owner.

595x When a piece of game is divided, the bomátsa is entitled
[724] to the lintúla (the lower portion of the breast), which would go to the man's mother (or his father's or his elder brother's wife) were he a bachelor.

In the bomátsa's absence, her place is taken by her ebísa (see below, Article IV) or by the wife who follows her in seniority. At her death, the same rules govern her succession.

The name bomátsa is probably derived from the root mátsa, "to begin." She is the one who founds the family. Sometimes she is also called ikókóyɔ̃njemba, literally "bachelor's love." The Bombwanja say itókóyɔ̃njemba (the Ekondà, nkúmukolo).

In addition to the bomátsa, reference is sometimes made to
[344] bomátsa w'ísíli, or "bomátsa of the left." The bomátsa in the strict sense of the term is contrasted to the latter as bomátsa w'ílɔ́me ("of the right"). The bomátsa of the left is a polygamist's second wife. She is given this name because her house is at the left end of
●[592] the loánjá. She has no special rights or duties, however, unless the actual bomátsa delegates to her the task of looking after her end of the compound. If the harem is large, the husband may set aside
[224] for her a special portion of the game, called itɔ́mbantúta, or nape of the neck. In her absence it goes to the eldest daughter.

Article II. The Favorite

595λ All polygamists of any importance have a favorite wife, or
556 nkɔ́ndɛ́. But only the rich and the notables have a true nkɔ́ndɛ́. The minor polygamists, of course, imitate the others (nkɔ́ndɛ́ ɛ́â wɛ́díf or ɛ́â ítsíɔ́, "without great importance"), but they do so without

595× at least, they use the name banyangó, "mothers." Daughters use only the second term. (See Chapter VI, Article VI.)

A polygamist may have a house of his own, but he is often 592× 595× satisfied with a shed, where he spends his days when he is not called elsewhere by his pursuits; he eats his meals there, receives his guests, etc. This shed is called ingómba (or esamba). (1)

1. Depending on the dialect. For other names, see Chapter VI, Article III, 3, note.

exceptionally jójá. The last term refers to the location of this "parlor," which is by itself in front of the row of wives' huts, sometimes in the middle of the street; in rare cases it is placed on the opposite side of the street, facing the women's huts.

Each woman has her own hut, consisting of a fairly large area, open in front, which serves as a kitchen, and a smaller room with a bed. Or she may have a kitchen in the form of a shed, and a separate house a slight distance away which serves as a bedroom.

The huts are placed in a row stretching around both sides of the husband's house, if he has one. The nkónde's house is right next to the husband's or behind his shed. The bomátsa's is at the far left, and so on. The bolúmbú has no special place. The ebísa's hut is next to her relative's.

Some polygamists are beginning to build double houses. On each side of a common kitchen there are the bedrooms of two women under the same roof. This has been done by Bokwála, the present chief of the Boángí at Bokála (2). In each double hut he

2. Since deceased.

has placed one elderly woman and a younger one. Thus, he explained to me [359] one day, the old ones watch over the young ones, and as a result there are fewer instances of adultery.

595× A husband has obligations toward all his wives. He must bring firewood to each and take care that each one has her land to

614 He represents the A-group in the council of elders of the village and of the other large units. Since no members of the group [672] are considered capable of conducting affairs, all the legal transactions which they undertake are treated as though they had been sanctioned by the patriarch. To a large extent the members of the group may represent one another. In the absence of the elder, a younger member may act as the representative of the [623] group at council meetings. When the senior member dies, his function will be taken over by the next oldest member of the group.

614 602 An A-group will split up only through internal conflicts which cannot be bridged or through a large population increase. The newly-formed A-groups continue to maintain a close relationship which, at first, is much closer than among the B-groups whose A-groups have split much earlier. In the higher ranks cohesion after the split diminishes only gradually; thus many gradations develop in the feeling of cohesion. These gradations could not be even approximately reproduced in a diagram with any degree of exactitude. There is no formula by which the split takes place, as there is, for example, among the Tallensi (13)

13. Fortes, The Dynamics of Clanship, p. 34 f.

where it is determined by a certain number of generations. 614 Theoretically the A-groups are "eternal." The A-groups are 596 subdivided into small families. Within the polygynous families 592 nuclear families [Familienkerne] (14) have a semi-independent

14. Thurnwald, Menschliche Gesellschaft, Vol. 4, p. 12.

position economically. Each wife has her own house. A husband's wives and the wives of his sons have their houses within the same homestead. As the master of the homestead, the father has an open shelter where the men spend their time and [768] hold their meetings. Upon the death of the master of the

614 homestead, it is deserted by the inhabitants. On the new dwelling site the sons each build their own shelter. In contrast to the groups of the type A-E, the group living within a homestead is finite: its existence ends with the father's death. Only a man whose father (in the European meaning of the term) has died may have a shelter. Thus the homestead community is interposed between the A-group and the small family.

614 To sum up the characteristic features of the A-groups: Membership determined by male descent; unity of legal power, especially insofar as landed property and inheritance law is concerned the senior has full power; succession by simple seniority; theoretically unlimited existence of the group. The A-groups consist of small families who live together in homesteads under one father in each case.

Groups of Rank B

614 There is usually a friendly, neighborly relationship be-
793 tween the A-groups which form part of a B-group. People assist each other to a large extent, and there is joint consultation on most matters. Group B has only one Nkúmú iloki, "master of the hidden power," the priest of the kinship group, who is consulted by all the members of the group. He functions during the magical preparations for the hunt; he is consulted before any important undertaking. During the leave-taking ceremony after a burial, he converses with the deceased, and people turn to him when the ancestors have appeared to them in their dreams to transmit their desires, orders, or other information to the living. He protects the people of his group from the ill will, ndoki, of the dead and the living. The priest of the kinship group is used as the criterion [194] to determine which group of homogeneous A-groups represents a B-group. The priest of the kinship group is descended from a certain one of the related A-groups.

614 There is a difference in rank among the A-groups of a
554 B-group -- one group will be regarded as older -- but this is